River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Dolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p. 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

River valley, Caticugan's paddies looked the best. There is little doubt in my mind that the rice yield per acre for Siaton municipality in 1952, as estimated by the local agricultural agent, was too liberal. For example, the average rice yield in 1952 for the southern municipalities of Negros (Valencia to Tolong) was 774 pounds per acre.[34]

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According to Siaton's municipal land records, 122 acres of land are planted with lowland rice in Caticugan. This acreage is owned by 136 different individuals of whom 49 per cent live in Caticugan. Of the remaining owners 16 per cent live in Siaton poblacion, 10 per cent in Mantuyop, 8 per cent in Sandolot, and 6 per cent in Datag with several owners living in Inalad, Salag, and Maloh. More than half of the owners of ricefields in Caticugan do not live in the barrio, although they cannot be called absentee landlords in the strict sense. Many of these owners cultivate fields in Caticugan, bringing their plants from seed beds in their barrios.

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While the records indicate that the 122 acres of paddy in Caticugan are owned by 136 different individuals, the actual number of owners is much larger. Many a paddy is owned jointly by brothers and sisters. Sometimes the land records indicate this fact by stating that

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[34] These figures were obtained from an unpublished report of the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1952.

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the land is owned by the person listed and his or her "heirs" or "brothers." For example, one paddy in Caticugan, inherited on the death of a parent, is owned jointly by seven brothers and sisters. The land records often do not indicate these facts of ownership because the land continues to be registered under the name of an owner dead many years. Heirs often fail to change the land registration records at the municipio due to the small fee charged for the service.

Of the individuals interviewed during the survey in Caticugan, 50 per cent owned their ricefields, 37 per cent were tenants and 13 per cent owned some paddy and tilled others as tenants. In Sandolot-Datag area, of the thirty-one families interviewed, 74 per cent owned their ~~paddies while 26 per~~ cent were tenants. In order to obtain as wide a sample as possible, I did not request these families to give data on all of the ricefields they cultivated, but obtained figures for just one paddy. Therefore, some owners may have been also cultivating paddies as tenants. Three of the tenants in Caticugan were farming paddies owned by either a wife's brother or mother; another worked a paddy owned by a mother's brother. In Sandolot-Datag three tenants had as landlords a sister's husband, father's brother, and a third cousin, respectively.[35]

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[35] A recent survey of thirteen barrios states that 31 per cent of the landlords of tenants were related by blood or marriage to their renters. Rivera and McMillan, op. cit., p. 43.

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reason little corn is planted here and that which is sowed does not grow well.

There are no cooperative efforts to maintain the canals. Each farmer cares for the canals which run by or through his paddy. The distribution of the water is done without rancor because there is sufficient water for all. During my residence some older men in Barrio Caticugan talked about digging a new canal to irrigate more land. The owner of the spring that the proposed canal was to tap, however, requested ten gantas of shelled corn annually from every farmer through whose field the canal would pass. This price was considered excessive and the canal project was dropped. There was also talk about purchasing a second-hand pump to bring water from the Siaton River to Barrio Caticugan's fields. The largest landowner in Barrio Caticugan had the capital to purchase the pump but the project had not passed the discussion stage in 1953.[36]

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By irrigating some of their paddies the barriofolk can plant corn without waiting for the southwest monsoon. In 1951 the first irrigated paddy corn in Caticugan was planted in March, continuing into April. The sowing occurred immediately after the rice harvest so these

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[36] In 1952 the Mutual Security Agency allocated three million dollars for the purchase of irrigation pumps in the Philippines. James A. Storer, "Philippine Economic Progress," Far Eastern Survey, XXII, No. 8, (July, 1953) pp. 91-2. Ortigas states that both the Canaway and Sacsac rivers in Siaton were under consideration as possible irrigation sources. Ortigas, op. cit., p. 140.

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest. 243 476 432

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. 243 476 435 People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals. [264]

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work." 243 476

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly. [42]

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Cornfield Sizes and Yields

According to Siaton's municipal land records there are 580 acres classified as maizal (cornfields) in Caticugan, owned by 291 different persons. The records list 321 individual fields since some own more than one field; the average size was 1.9 acres. Of the owners of corn land 64 per cent live in Caticugan, 14 per cent in Siaton poblacion, 7 per cent in Sandolot, 5 per cent in Datag and 4 per cent in Mantuyop. The remaining owners live in Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, Maloh, Cabangahan, Omanod and Sta. Catalina poblacion. While 36 per cent of the owners of cornfields do not live in Caticugan, 51 per cent of the owners of paddies live in other communities.[51]

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I made a survey in Caticugan to check the accuracy of the municipal land records and obtain additional data on tenancy. Ownership and tenancy figures obtained through this survey indicate that tenancy is higher for paddy than cornfields. Information gathered from this survey is given in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII

Percentages of Ownership and Tenancy of Caticugan's Paddy and Cornfields -- 1951

	Paddies	Cornfields
Owner	50	60
Owner-Tenant	13	27
Tenant	37	13

[51] These are approximate figures; field sizes may not be accurately recorded or may be in other sitios of Caticugan, a fact not always noted on the records. However, special care was taken to check as thoroughly as possible the actual residences and not to include fields in other sitios. I am grateful to the municipal treasurer, Ramon Regalado, and the chief clerk of the municipio, for assistance in this matter.

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I also made a survey of harvest yields and field sizes that included 51 acres of land--17 acres in Barrio Caticugan, 11 acres in Talo-ot and 23 acres in Naga. Caticugan's average yield for the first paddy and first non-irrigated crops was 6 bushels of corn per acre. The average size of the cornfields in Caticugan, based on this survey, was 1.2 acres while the average obtained from the land records was 1.9 acres. Several hundred husked cornears were measured from the second non-irrigated harvest of Barrio Caticugan; the average length of the ears was 2-1/2 inches. However, the second harvest from non-irrigated cornfields is usually smaller than the first harvest.

My survey included a small field in Barrio Caticugan where loose carabaos destroyed the crop and four fields in Naga, two in which the crop was damaged by wild pigs and two damaged by insects and floods. Total acreage of these fields was less than 5 acres; they were included in the averages for such incidents are fairly common. The survey's largest cornfield was 4-acre field in Talo-ot while the smallest was .3 of an acre. According to municipal land records the largest field in Caticugan was 27 acres (a field that had been divided among the heirs although the record was not changed) while the smallest field was .1 of an acre.

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In 1939 there were 47,440 farmers in Negros Oriental with 43.9 per cent owners, 12.1 per cent part owners, and 43.7 per cent tenants.[52] According to my surveys,

[52] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 138.

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the tenancy for both paddy and cornfield in Caticugan is 55 per cent owner, 20 per cent part owner, and 25 per cent tenant. These figures bear out my opinion and that of other informed observers that in Siaton the tenancy rates are lower than the average for the province.

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I made a similar survey to determine the average yield, field size, and the harvester's share in the Siaton River valley barrios. In Dolog only the two landlords (the present mayor of Siaton and the former deputy governor of the province, both brothers) were interviewed for they own most of the cultivated land. The figures, combined with those of Caticugan, are given in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

Cornfields: Average Sizes and Yields and Harvesters' Shares in Siaton River Valley - 1951[53]

Community	Average Size Of Fields (Acres)	Average Yield Per Acre (Bushels)	Harvesters Share of Total Harvest (Percentage)
CATICUGAN	1.2	6	15.5
Datag	1.5	7	15.0
Sandolot	1.2	12	13.0
Casala-an	1.2	12	15.3
Dolog	-	20	-

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Table XIX indicates that corn yield per acre increases as one goes up in the Siaton River valley. Yields

[53]The survey included 71 acres in Casala-an, 44 acres in Sandolot and 47 acres in Datag. The two landlords of Dolog gave me information on their fields that totaled 35 acres. Data obtained from Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an were gathered by my assistant who took two days to collect the figures. Obtaining such information is often difficult when the barriofolk are not well acquainted with the field worker. For this reason I felt my assistant, a former school-teacher in Sandolot, well-known and respected by most of the people, could collect the data more accurately.

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banana clumps, cocohut or buri palms--all relatively impermanent. No surveys have been made so no accurate records of boundaries exist in the municipio. Since land is rarely sold, boundary disputes often involve such quarrels.

TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS: LOWLAND

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Under the common paddy tenancy arrangement in Caticugan the tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, pays all costs of transplanting and cultivating while the landlord furnishes the seed and shares harvest expenses equally with his tenant. The net produce of the paddy is divided 50-50. In some tenancy arrangements, the tenant furnishes the carabao and the plow, the landlord the seed; both share equally all costs of production and divide the net produce 50-50. A few tenants furnish everything--animal, plow, seeds--and pay production costs except for the harvest which the landlord shares equally; the tenant receives 66-2/3 per cent of the net harvest. If this arrangement is reversed the tenant receives the smaller harvest share.

The Philippine Rice Tenancy Act (first passed in 1933 and amended in 1946) defines the legal relation of tenant and landlord. According to this Act, if a tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, the landlord the seeds, and both share equally the costs of transplanting and cultivation, the net harvest is to be divided 45-55 in favor of the tenant.[15] According to the Act, expenses of harvesting and threshing are to be deducted from the

[15] A personal letter to the writer from Mr. Deogracias E. Lerma, Chief, Tenancy Division, Court of Industrial Relations, Department of Justice, Manila, September 18, 1951.

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gross produce of the paddy.[16] The common tenancy arrangement for rice fields in Caticugan, therefore, is illegal since the tenant must bear the cost of transplanting and care of the field yet receives 5 per cent less than his legal share. However, there may be no expenses for transplanting since the family does the work and little care is necessary once the rice is transplanted. One tenant in Sandolot, however, said he paid helpers five dollars to assist in transplanting his paddy.

Sometimes in Caticugan the tenant furnishes everything yet receives only 66-2/3 per cent of the net rice harvest. This arrangement also is illegal, for under such an arrangement the tenant should receive 75 per cent of the net produce of the paddy, since Caticugan fields produce less than 40 cavans per hectare. When paddies produce more than 40 cavans of palay per hectare the division is 70-30 in favor of the tenant.[17] Sometimes a Caticugan landlord will plant one rice seed bed and furnish the tenant with seedlings for transplanting.

The most common tenancy arrangement for cornfields is almost the same as for paddies. Tenants furnish the work animal and plow, the landlord the seed; both share

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[16] A copy of the Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act is printed in Hardie, op. cit., pp. G24-G31 and its amendment, Republic Act No. 34, pp. G33-G35.

[17] David Wurfel, "The Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act," Pacific Affairs, XXVII, No. 1 (March, 1954), p. 45. Wurfel's article is a brief yet penetrating analysis of this legislation.

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equally the cost of planting, cultivation, and harvest; the net produce of the field is divided 50-50. Some landlords require the tenant to furnish the seed corn yet the division is still 50-50. A few landlords furnished implements, animal and seed, requiring the tenant to bear all costs of planting, cultivating and harvesting, with a 50-50 division. Infrequently the tenant furnished everything, bore the costs of production and received 66-2/3 per cent of the net produce of the cornfield.

Corn is classified as an "auxiliary crop" in Section 9 of the Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act.

> In the absence of any written agreement to the contrary in case the land is planted to a secondary crop of rice or other auxiliary crops, the tenant shall receive 80 per cent and the landlord 20 per cent of the net produce, provided all the expenses of production are borne by the tenant.[18]

"All expenses" are interpreted to include work animals, implements, seed, and all costs connected with planting, cultivating and harvesting the corn. There are no regu-

tions in the Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act covering

e type of tenancy arrangements for cornfields that

ist in Caticugan.[19] Some arrangements are obviously

legal--where the tenant furnishes everything yet re-

ives only 66-2/3 per cent of the net produce. Yet this

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[18] Hardie, op. cit., p. G26.

[19] A personal letter to the writer from Mr. Deogracias Lerma, Chief, Tenancy Division, Court of Industrial ations, Department of Justice, Manila, October 2, 1951.

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is not the common tenancy arrangement between tenant and landlord for cornfields.

Most of the injustices to the tenant in Caticugan--that are not common--reflect an old story in the Philippines. A man who owns no land or whose fields are too small to support his family must work as a tenant. In order to feed his family he must accept arrangements which he knows are unjust; if he does not others will. Justice for the tenant under such illegal arrangements is a complicated, expensive process. Even if he won his case he would probably lose the field unless the law forced the landlord to retain him as a tenant. This explanation was given for some of the more unjust tenancy arrangements in Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. While there are more tenants than available land in Caticugan, the relatively low rate of tenancy has not made the pressure to obtain and retain fields as great as elsewhere in the Philippines.

Table XXVI[1] gives the figures for national, Negros Oriental, and Caticugan tenancy in percentages for comparative purposes.

1 [See p. 489, cat. 427.. Analyst]

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TABLE XXVI

PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED AREA UNDER TENANCY[20]

Type	Caticugan (1951) Rice	Caticugan (1951) Corn	Negros Oriental (1939)	Philippines (1939)
Owner	50	60	49	49.0
Owner-Tenant	13	27	13	15.0
Tenant	37	13	30	30.7
Farm manager	--	--	7.4	3.5

There is a remarkable similarity between the tenancy and ownership percentages for Negros Oriental province and the Philippines. For most of the Caticugan barriofolk, however, the cornfield percentages reflect the situation more accurately since only a minority in the barrio cultivate paddies. Caticugan's tenancy percentage is quite low when compared with the 67 per cent tenancy of Pampanga province, Luzon.

Relationships between tenants and landlords in Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley are generally harmonious. Few landlords require the "extra" services from their tenants that are typical in central Luzon. One man had his tenant repair his house and paid him ten dollars while the tenant thought twenty dollars would have been a fairer payment. An informant of Barrio Caticugan said he once was a tenant of a paddy in Barrio Canaway. He stopped farming the paddy because every year he had to build a new fence;

[20] Spencer, op. cit., pp. 122-3. In 1939 1.7 of the cultivated land was operated under mixed tenancy arrangements. Caticugan figures were obtained through a survey I made in 1951. 1948 Census figures for tenancy in the Philippines were not available at this time.

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the landlord always carted the fence away for his personal use. Normally tenants live in their own houses. Several landlords assisted tenants living in the more isolated barrios to build new homes by furnishing nipa shingles.

When the harvest is divided the landlord or one of his family, quite often the wife or a daughter, will go to the field to help in the division of the crop; this, however, is not always the case. Some landlords permit a tenant to bring his share to his own house. A tenant's family is allowed to eat all the green corn they wish; this increases their share. Restrictions in this matter, probably would be almost impossible to enforce. I neither witnessed nor heard of violent quarrels over the division of crops between tenant and landlord. The only argument I heard was a vicious verbal fight between a brother and sister in Siaton poblacion over the division of corn from a jointly-owned field that was farmed by the brother.

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Another reason for the generally friendly relationships between tenant and landlord may be that they often are relatives. While kinship does not necessarily prevent exploitation of one's tenant-relative, it often tempers the situation. Under barrio social organization, one is less likely to come into open conflict with an aunt, uncle or affinal relative than with a non-relative. Relatives often are more considerate in arranging farm tenure than non-relatives. The pitiful exploitation of

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many tenants by landlords in central Luzon, largely the basis for the agrarian unrest in that area, does not exist in Caticugan.

TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS: CAINGIN

Caingin agriculture has no recognized system of tenancy so there are no laws governing the relationships between tenant and landlord. The most common tenancy arrangement in Siaton municipality is for the tenant to furnish the seed (rice, corn or abaca cuttings), and to assume all costs of clearing the field, planting, cultivation and harvesting; the crops are divided two to one in the tenant's favor. Sometimes the tenant receives the entire harvest after the first year; or at the second corn planting and rice harvest the tenant and landlord change the two to one division to 50-50. Another arrangement is 60-40 in favor of the tenant as long as rice and corn are raised on the caingin; i.e., if no abaca is planted. If abaca is planted and the tenant furnishes the cuttings, he receives two-thirds of the fiber and the landlord one-third. Another arrangement is that the tenant receives all of the first corn crop on the first planting of the caingin; subsequent divisions two to one in favor of the tenant.

If abaca is intercropped with corn or rice and workers are employed to strip the stalks, they get 50 per cent of the profits from the sale of the fiber, while

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the landlord and tenant receive 25 per cent each. The workers have to carry the heavy bundles of fiber on their backs to the poblacion. If the landlord strips and processes the abaca planted and cared for by his tenant, he receives 75 per cent of the profits from its sale in the poblacion and the tenant 25 per cent. If the tenant processes the abaca the division of profits is reversed. One informant said the owners of the caingin often urge their tenants to plant abaca in order to prevent soil erosion and the spread of cogon. The tenant receives all vegetables planted in the caingin.

CREDIT FACILITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS

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Nearly every comprehensive study of Philippine economic structure has urged that credit facilities be improved. Both the Joint Philippine-American Finance Commission (1947) and the Bell Mission (1950) stressed the need for improving and expanding agricultural credit facilities. The latest study of agricultural credit is briefly summarized as background material for Catiougan.[21]

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There is no government control or support of agricultural products in the Philippines, with the exception of the activities of the National Rice and Corn Corporation. Though this corporation limits price rises of rice to the

[21] John L. Cooper, "Report and Recommendations Concerning Agricultural Credit in the Philippines." Manila, United States of America Special Technical and Economic Mission to the Philippines, January 8, 1952, 88 pages. Mimeographed.

of the protection afforded by an extension of land east of Malabuhan. Fish corrals can be built earlier here than in the other zones. The second class zone extends from Barrio Sumalaring to Salag Point; the third class zone continues from Salag Point to Siaton-Sta. Catalina municipality boundaries. 228 423

In 1951 public auctions were held for the first time for bonsod sites in these three zones. However, the auction was due less to raise funds than to political maneuvering among municipal officials. The auction was held in order to permit one person to obtain the most desirable sites, previously held by an individual then out of favor with local politicians. No auctions were held in 1952 or 1953. 228 423 437 661 427

When no auctions are held, an operator in a first class bonsod zone pays Siaton municipal government $50 annually; second class bonsod zone, $35; third class bonsod zone, $23. An additional license is necessary according to the depths in which the bonsod is constructed; Table ~~XXXX~~ 1 lists these fees. 228 427 423

1 [See p. 579, cat. 228 or 116 -- Analyst]